

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/CE: S M KLINGAMAN

APPROVED BY EUR: R D VINE

EUR/CE: W M WOESSNER

EUR/CE: R C BARKLEY

EUR/P: W GEHRON

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O 102126Z YUG 78

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 202818

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SOPN, US, GW

SUBJECT: EVANS AND NOVAK ARTICLE ON GERMANY

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF EVANS AND NOVAK ARTICLE WHICH WE
UNDERSTAND WILL BE RELEASED FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

2. BEGIN TEXT: INSIDE REPORT: SPECTER IN GERMANY - BY
ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK -

WASHINGTON -- PRESIDENT CARTER'S UNCERTAIN FOREIGN POLICY
IS UNWITTINGLY CONTRIBUTING TO STEPPED-UP CONTACTS BETWEEN
THE SOVIET UNION AND LEFT-WING LEADERS OF WEST GERMANY'S
RULING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SPD) WHO HAVE LONG OPPOSED
CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT'S DEVOTION TO WASHINGTON AND THE
NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE (NATO).

PLAYING THE PRIME ROLE IN THESE VERY PRIVATE CONTACTS IS
EGON BAHR, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE SPD. BAHR HAD EXTEN-
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SIVE TALKS WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV SHORTLY
BEFORE BREZHNEV'S HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO BONN IN MAY.
HE RENEWED HIS MOSCOW TALKS IN JULY -- NOT AS AN EMISSARY
OF SCHMIDT, BUT AS AGENT OF THE SPD'S ACTIVIST LEFT WING

AND THE PARTY CHAIRMAN-FORMER CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT.

HERE IS THE SPECTER OF WHAT HAS ALWAYS MADE THE WESTERN ALLIANCE TREMBLE: A MENACING NEW VERSION OF THE 1922 RAPALLO SOVIET-GERMAN TREATY. ANOTHER RAPALLO IS CERTAINLY NO POSSIBILITY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. INDEED: IT IS UNTHINKABLE IN HELMUT SCHMIDT'S GERMANY.

NEVERTHELESS, WHAT IS CLEARLY AT ISSUE IN THE BREZHNEV-BAHR TALKS IS CHILLING, EVEN THOUGH NO IMMEDIATE THREAT: WEST GERMANY LEAVING NATO WITH SOVIET GUARANTEES AGAINST AGGRESSION AND WITH THE ULTIMATE PROSPECT OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION.

BAHR, A FANATICAL GERMAN NATIONALIST, LEADS SPD'S FAR-LEFT FACTION WHICH BELIEVES THE KEY TO GERMANY'S FUTURE REUNIFICATION IS HELD IN MOSCOW, NOT WASHINGTON. TO BAHR AND HIS ALLIES, COMMON POLITICAL GROUND WILL EVENTUALLY BE FOUND BETWEEN SOVIET COMMUNISM AND EUROPEAN SOCIALISM.

POLITICAL SOURCES IN EUROPE, BOTH WEST AND EAST, PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING OUTLINE OF BAHR'S SOVIET CONTACTS IN MOSCOW AND BONN, TOGETHER WITH COLLATERAL TALKS BETWEEN OTHER LEADERS OF THE SPD'S LEFT WING AND EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST OFFICIALS.

BAHR ATTACKS THE CARTER FOREIGN POLICY, PARTICULARLY THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTENTION "TO PLAY THE CHINA CARD."
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ACCORDING TO ONE QUALIFIED INFORMANT, BAHR AGREED WITH MOSCOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION "WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS" AND WOULD RETALIATE "IN AFRICA, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN ASIA AND WESTERN EUROPE," POSSIBLY WITH A "BERLIN CRISIS." BAHR CONTENTS WEST GERMANY MIGHT NOT SURVIVE A NEW BERLIN CRISIS.

THE IMPACT OF MR. CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY ON THE SOVIET UNION THREATENS SOVIET REACTION WHICH COULD PUT PRESSURE ON WEST GERMANY.

GIVEN THESE ALLEGED DANGERS TO WEST GERMANY, BAHR HAS ASKED THE SOVIETS WHAT SORT OF "GUARANTEES" THEY COULD OFFER "IN CASE OF A CRISIS" BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS.

TO FACILITATE SUCH A CATAclysmic SHIFT IN WEST GERMAN POLICY, A MAJOR PROPAGANDA OPERATION HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THIS PURPOSE: TO DRAMATIZE PERCEIVED DANGERS IN U.S. POLICY AND "MR. CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY." THIS

WOULD START BY DENYING THE U.S. "UNLIMITED POWER" TO

DICTATE WESTERN POLICY TO WEST GERMANY ON STRATEGIC ARMS
LIMITATION, COMMUNIST CHINA, THE THIRD WORLD AND EUROPE
ITSELF.

BAHR AND THE SPD LEFT WING HAVE EXPLOITED PRESIDENT
CARTER'S STUNNING DECISION NOT TO PRODUCE NEUTRON WEAPONS
BY CONSTANTLY REMINDING SCHMIDT HOW ERRATIC U.S. POLICY
IS TODAY. SCHMIDT HAD PRIVATELY INFORMED MR. CARTER HE
WANTED THE NEUTRON WARHEAD (WIDELY OPPOSED INSIDE THE
SPD) AND WAS LEFT HOLDING THE BAG WHEN THE PRESIDENT
RULED AGAINST IT.

ALTHOUGH BAHR GREATLY INFLUENCES THE SPD'S LEFT WING
(COMPRISING ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE PARTY), HE LACKS
POWER WITHIN SCHMIDT'S COALITION GOVERNMENT. STILL, BAHR'S
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WIDE-RANGING EXPLORATIONS POINTING TOWARD A POSSIBLE
SECOND RAPALLO BUILDS RISING PRESSURE ON SCHMIDT.

WIDELY NOTICED IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS SCHMIDT'S
HEAVY EMPHASIS ON EAST-WEST DETENTE SINCE BREZHNEV'S BONN
VISIT. THE CHANCELLOR ALSO REJECTED AN APPEAL FROM FRENCH
PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTANG FOR FRENCH-GERMAN
"COORDINATION" IN BLOCKING SOVIET ADVENTURES IN AFRICA.

SCHMIDT IS BECOMING TRAPPED IN THE CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY
OF MR. CARTER'S WASHINGTON: HE BOLDLY OPPOSES HIS LEFT
WING ON NEUTRON WEAPONS, AND THE PRESIDENT PULLS THE RUG
OUT; HE YIELDS TO HIS LEFT WING ON AFRICA, AND A COMMON
WESTERN EUROPEAN POLICY IS SACRIFICED.

"U.S. LEADERSHIP IS NOT A REALISTIC FACTOR IN THE GREAT
STRUGGLE WITH THE SOVIETS TODAY," ONE EUROPEAN EXPERT ON
GERMAN POLITICS TOLD US. "THERE IS ALL TOO OBVIOUS A
LACK OF DECLARED WILL." THAT LACK OF WILL, AND THE
INCONSISTENCY THAT RESULTS FROM IT, IS WHAT GIVES EGON
BAHR AND HIS SUPPORTERS THEIR LICENSE TO HUNT IN MOSCOW
FOR A RADICAL CHANGE IN WEST GERMAN POLICY AT AWESOME
RISK TO EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST. END TEXT.

3. CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE FOLLOWS SEPTTEL. VANCE

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